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THE

CITIZENS of EDINBURGH,

And particularly

To the Incorporated CRAFTSMEN

WHEREIN

Several important Considerations are laid down,
relating to the Choice of a Representative for
that CITY; the Right of the Incorporations
asserted and vindicated; several Objections
answered, and the whole set in a new Light.

*And art thou, then, to Ruin reconcil'd?
Tam'd to Destruction? Wilt thou be undone?
Resign the tow'ring Thought? The vast Design
With future Glories big?—
—For a gay transient Fancy,*

SOPHONISBA.

Printed in the Year MDCCXLI.



Serious Address, &c.

Gentlemen,

WHEN I reflect on the late noble Appearance which you made for Liberty, with what Spirit you acted, and with what Dignity; how you shook off the ministerial Chain, and set an Example to the whole Kingdom, I cannot but imagine, that the same Principles are yet fixed in your Hearts; and that *Liberty is the Word*. It would be offering the greatest Indignity to the worthy free Citizens of *Edinburgh*, to entertain so much as a distant Thought, that, when they have struggled against Influence of every Kind, they should, at last, tame-

ly submit to the poorest, nay, to the vilest Sort of a servile Dependence. If a Man is obliged to be a Slave, there is still some Comfort from the great and conspicuous Character of his Tyrant; but to shift from him, and bow the Knee to a Man no better than himself, argues a Kind of Distractedness, or, at least, that he is beyond Measure infatuated. But these distant Suppositions, I persuade myself, are in no Manner applicable to the Inhabitants of this great City. They have all a common and disinterested Views to be led aside from attending to the common Good, by any mean Consideration whatever; they all know what valuable Trust is in their Hands, and how they are sworn, as *Freedmen* of this City, to convey their Privileges intire, and hand them down to Posterity. It is a Concern for these that alone can distinguish a good Citizen; and every one is obliged to exert himself, when the smallest of them is in Danger; but as, in all Societies, there are several distinct incorporated Bodies, so each of these have special Privileges of their own, which they are bound to maintain when any Encroachment is attempted, either from Men in Power, or from others who are equally concerned to maintain the good Policy of the

the City, and the minntest Privilege of the several Incorporations. And as I am perswaded the whole Body of incorporated Craftsmen are threatned with the Loss of one of their most valuable Privileges, it is on that Account that I presume to address this great City, and particularly them, for the Time fast approaches, when they shall either be again distinguished, and have their due Weight, or *it shall cease for ever*. On these Considerations, I persuade myself that it will not be ungrateful to any to offer my Thoughts on the Subject, and endeavour to set the Matter in as true and genuine a Light as possibly I can; and wherein I shall happen to be misled, I expect the Publick will bear with my Fault, as I hereby promise, on Conviction, to retract it.

The worst of P———ts is now dissolved, and an End put to a Seven Years Race of Wickedness; that infamous Set, who could tamely barter our most valuable Rights for a Place or a Pension; who could do whatever was for our Disadvantage or Disgrace, are, in a politick Capacity, now no more; they have resigned their Spirit, and breathed their last, and with them may all Dishonesty in *British* Councils die: This is the Wish of every true *Briton*,

son, and of every Lover of his Country; for tho' they have done as much as their own Safety would allow them, to entail upon us and our Posterity these Curses which they voted, yet, while we have an Opportunity of chusing new Representatives, it will be our Fault if we elect any, except such who will honestly act, and ease a burdened poor harassed Nation of the Difficulties which it groans under. Whatever other Boroughs may do, I am confident this City will; I am confident that no dishonest Motive will influence one Vote in the honorable Council, and I am as well perswaded that Honesty, publick Spirit, and Zeal for the common Good, alone inspires the Gentlemen who now offer their Service to represent this City in Parliament; they have both distinguished themselves in the Cause of Liberty, and are both fit for the highest Trust; nay, let me add, that they both deserve the highest Honours of their Fellow-Citizens, the one for his long distinguished Services, his known, his approved Honesty, his Experience and well tried Capacity; the other for generously sacrificing his own Ease for the Good of the City, and for his other conspicuous Virtues which I need not here repeat. In this Situation, where the Balance is so even

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where the Candidates stand so fair in the
 esteem of all, it can be no easy Matter
 that will determine a considering Man to
 which he can give the Preference; and o-
 ther Motives, abstracting from a View to
 the publick Good, are unworthy of good
 wise Men to use, or a Man of common
 Sense to hear; and indeed, it is something
 which bears a very odd Aspect, to hear great
 Names used as Arguments, and made sub-
 servient to little mean Jobs; sure I am,
 that the *noble Person*, whose Name is thus
 prostituted, would look with the utmost
 indignation on these who use it to such a
 Purpose, a Purpose below common Sense:
 Can it ever be thought, that the great
 Defender of *British Liberty* would ask the
 most valuable Privilege which Men can en-
 joy; that he would desire them to surren-
 der up their Right of private Judgment?
 This were intolerable, nay, absurd to sup-
 pose; and I hope the Gentlemen, who so
 avowedly make use of the Name of a cer-
 tain great Peer, will consider with what
 Relish that noble Patriot will hear, that he
 had been the Instrument which induced a
 loyal City to deny itself the Privilege of
 the meanest Beggar; or of acting what was
 judged most proper for the common Good.
 Would that immortal Man desire that

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who are intrusted with the Management of this City, should all act like a Piece of Clock-Work; as a mere Machine & such Stuff cannot be endured! But more of this at another Time.

This being therefore promised, I shall now proceed to lay before you certain Considerations, which, I hope, will tend to the Advantage of all, and the Detriment of none.

Allow me, then, to state the Case fairly, and it is your Business, Gentlemen, to judge coolly and without Partiality. The two Candidates, who now make an Offer of their Service to represent this City in Parliament, are both Men of distinguished Merit. The one has long enjoyed the Love and Esteem of his Fellow-Citizens; he has enjoyed, with Applause, the highest Trust which the Law and his Way of Life could admit; has been a strenuous Assertor of Liberty in the worst of Times, and, by his strict Adherence to such Principles, deserves the Confidence of all; his Age, his Experience, his Capacity, his Integrity and Worth, all recommend him as one entirely fit to represent the Metropolis of Scotland. The other is a Merchant-Commissioner, and has been about Six Months in Office; however, no Man doubts his Zeal

for the publick Good, and I should be the last to refuse his Worth; but I hope the Publick will bear with me, when I say that the one has many Advantages to recommend him, which the other cannot pretend to. Is there a Balance betwixt *Men*, one of which has been long tried, the *other's* Abilities scarce known? Is a Life almost spent in promoting the publick Good, to be compared with one which has but just begun to attend to its true Interest? But I shall desist from any further Comparison, I dare say it is by no Means pleasing to the publick, and as little to the Writer of this Address; therefore, instead of pursuing so disagreeable a Theme, I chuse to illustrate the Subject, by giving a few Characteristicks of a Man fit to represent a free City in Parliament.

First, It is certain that he must be one whose Circumstances are so easy, as can enable him to discharge that Trust with Honour, defy Bribery, and be above Corruption. He must be independent of all except his Constituents, and must have no Prospect of Gain in View, but the Pleasure which arises from acting for the publick Good: For if a Man, whose Way of Trade leads him to court all, in order thereby to promote his own Interest, should be elect-

ed, it is but one Step more, and Corruption takes Place. Ought not every one, then, to be careful in guarding against the most distant Approaches to Bribery, which is, and will be the only Thing that can ruin the *British* Constitution? Would it not be cruel to throw Temptations before the Eyes of a Man whose Virtue is equally fallible with others? Would it not be cruel, by a Temptation of that Kind, to divert an early Concern for Liberty, which, as Years increased, might grow up and do eminent Service to *Britain*? Would it not be cruel to this City, to deny the Hopes of a Man in her Council, who has always, since he came into Power, acted with such consummate Prudence? Would it not be cruel to the whole Inhabitants, to deny them the Prospect of an upright Judge and a worthy Provost? For, if the intended Election of one Man shall take Place; farewell all these flattering Hopes; for it was never seen that a Member of Parliament submitted to an annual Bailieship. Would it not therefore be much more for the Honour of this City, and the Advantage of that Gentleman, to elect one who had gone thro' the several Degrees in Offices of Power and Trust, than to elect one who has that Course yet to run? And I own it

is not possible for me to imagine, that a Man can be intirely free from Influence, who lives by a Method which some think must make him court the Great. I think it would be the greatest Injustice to engage him in Politicks on either Side; I think it would be an Injustice to this City, and I think it could reflect no great Honour on his Electors.

On the other Hand, if a Man offer his Service, whose Circumstances are easy, whose honest Industry had set him above the Reach of Corruption, who had no Branch of Trade to increase, and as few that could be diminished; who, thro' a long Series of Years, faithfully served his Fellow-Citizens, and given the strongest Instances of his Affection to Liberty, to the Good of the Subject, and to the present happy Establishment; who had always behaved with Courage as well as with Conduct, and disdained every mean and low Submission, tho' covered under the most plausible Pretences, and disguised in the fairest Manner. When such a Man offers his Service, Can an Inhabitant of this City? Can one who is unbiaſſed? Can one who judges fairly, hesitate a Moment? On the one Side, there is, at least, Grounds of Suspicion: On the other, there can be none. On the one

one Side, all is taken upon Trust; it may happen well, but it also may happen ill. On the other, nothing is proposed, but what long Experience can justify. On the one Side, there is a Man who has a visible Advantage in his Way of Trade by his Seat in Parliament: On the other, there is a Man who has already proved and resisted Temptations, and can be under no Necessity of submitting to them in his old Age, when they could have no Effect upon him in his Youth. Therefore, as you Gentlemen, have appeared against Influence of any Kind, be it far from you now, to put a worthy Man of your own Number in the Way of Temptation: As you cannot but know which are least liable to Suspicion, which have distinguished themselves most by their steady Adherence to Liberty and *Britain*, so let that be the Test; lay your Hands upon your Hearts; think that you are to account both to GOD and Man for your Conduct, and then let your own Consciences direct you.

Secondly, Another Thing which makes Part of the Character of a right Member, is, That he be one whose Principles are avowedly such as are agreeable to the present happy Establishment in Church and State. As you must be well acquainted with



with the Characters of both the Candidates, I shall leave yourselves to compare them, and draw such Inferences as you shall judge proper: But one Thing is certain, that the chief Support of our Tyrant Minister is Persons who only pretend to Whiggism, to serve a Turn. Far be it from me to imagine, much less to suggest, That any who now offer the City their Service, are, or have ever been, tinctured with such pernicious vile Principles; but it is the Duty of every one to be careful, lest any such should creep into Power, and only such ought to be trusted, whose Zeal for our present happy Constitution has been often experienced. Liberty is a Blessing above all Purchase; to be free, is to be happy; and, I dare say, none would give it up that know its Value; and only such are capable of doing it, whose Principles lead them to be Enemies to the *British* Constitution. But enough of this.

Thirdly, A Representative of a Royal Borough, much more of a Royal City, the Metropolis of a Kingdom, ought to be one that is perfectly well acquainted with its Trade, with its Interest, and with what, in every Respect, concerns its Advantage. This is so essential, that, without it, nothing but Disgrace can be reflected upon that

that Borough which becomes so stupid to elect such. And to this the greatest Part of the Mischiefs which have arisen of late to the trading Part of the Nation are chiefly to be ascribed. Therefore, Gentlemen, allow me to say, That it is not a Novice in your Affairs, that is a proper Person: It is not Six Months, nay, not Six Years, that will qualify a Man to understand your Business; therefore weigh the Matter coolly, and judge with that Candour and Fairness which becomes publick Trustees for so great a Body as you represent, and then tell me, or tell your own Hearts, if you can vote any Man to represent you, but one who has gone thro' the several Offices in the Magistracy with Honour and Applause, and has acquired a thorough Insight into your Concerns.

Fourthly, Another Qualification, which is absolutely necessary, yea is, in its own Nature, indispensable, and that is an Acquaintance with, and a thorough Insight into the *British* Constitution. This, as it is founded upon Principles, so it can never be shaken by Consequences. It is not enough to be a Friend to Liberty, to talk big, and to express a flaming Zeal. These are the common Arts of Quacks; but a Man who is appointed by a free People, to take
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Care of their Privileges, must likewise know how to defend them; and to do this requires a cool Head as well as a warm Heart. It is not an Art to be pick'd up but from long Experience, and the most diligent Attention. It is a Study which requires all the Hours of Leisure. It is a Thing talked of by many, but understood by few. This likewise is your Duty diligently to attend to. Your Election, I am perswaded, is designed by none of you to serve a Job. I know you disdain the little mean Arts which are too oft practis'd to gain Votes; you know better what is serious, and will never allow yourselves to treat it as a Trifle; you are Men, and Men of Reason; you can judge, and judge fairly: Therefore, as your own, and the Nation's Security depends, in so far, upon the Choice which you are soon to make, let it be set about with that Honesty which has distinguished you all along.

And now, upon the Whole, you are to remember, that it was by the good Will of your Fellow-Citizens, that you, Gentlemen, who are to elect, came into Power; it was they who put it in your Hands, and 'tis they who will expect an Account of your Actions: Therefore, as you wish to approve yourselves to all good Men, be
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careful how you engage yourselves; and remember, that the highest Places of Trust are only fit to be lodged with such Men who have given you, and the rest of your Fellow-Citizens, sufficient Proofs of their Abilities, of their approved Honesty, of their Conduct and Experience in publick Affairs; whom you know to be above the Desire of Gain, and sufficiently able, without any Assistance whatsoever, to support the Dignity of your Representative, and in all Respects qualified to act for the publick Good, and for your Honour and Interest.

○ If these few Considerations, which I have laid down with all possible Plainness, and with that Honesty and Freedom which I think becomes a *British* Subject, and a Friend to this City and its Liberties, be rightly attended to, they will lead you on to a Train of Thoughts which will easily determine your Choice. But I shall now proceed to state the Case a little nearer, and shew you, that it is impossible, at this Time, to elect the Gentleman-Merchant who now offers himself as a Candidate to represent you.

You all know, that many unhappy Differences subsisted betwixt the Merchants and the Trades of this City before the Year

1583. when the Set of the Town was made out; and which is yet in Force; by it the Craftsmen are expressly intitled to have one of their own Number to represent them in Parliament, as the Merchants are to have another. This continued to the Union of the Two Kingdoms without any Interruption. By the Union, the City of *Edinburgh* is limited to one Member; and, by the same Treaty, all the Privileges of the Royal Boroughs are declared to be kept intire; therefore it seems plain, that the Craftsmen are intitled to have a Member elected from their Body *per vices* with the Merchants. But this is exactly handled in a late Paper, intitled, *The Case stated*. All I shall do, is only to illustrate the Matter a little further, and endeavour to put this Right, which yet subsists in the Trades, beyond the least Dispute.

First, Then, it is plain, that, as all Law is founded upon Reason, so, while the Reasons for enacting any Law subsist, the Law itself likewise must; and, *vice versa*, while the Law subsists, it is to be presumed, that the Reason of it does so likewise. Now, nothing can be plainer, than that the Reasons for enacting that Law, whereby the incorporated Craftsmen are intitled to be represented in Parliament

by one of their own Number, still subsists, for, by the Set of the Town, the Majority of the Council consists of Merchants; so that, without it had been expressly provided, they could never have proposed one Representative. And this shews the Wisdom of those who so wisely took Care to oblige the Majority of the Council to elect a Craftsman. This Reason therefore still subsists; and consequently the Law itself is in full Force, else the Trades are robbed of their most valuable Privilege, for 'tis downright Nonsense to assert, That it is enough that they are only capable of being elected. That is a Privilege which the meanest of them have, as Freemen and Burgeses of the City, and had before ever that Law had a Being: So that the Question was not at that Time, Whether a Tradesman might be elected or not, but to secure his Election? Which is expressly done: Therefore, as the Reason of the Law still subsists, as that Law is unrepealed, yea, has had the Sanction of Parliament to confirm it, it is certainly binding, and of full Force.

Secondly, This will appear plainer, if we consider that Law takes away no Man's Property, it being designed and calculated to secure the Property of every Individual;

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much less then can it take away the Privileges of Societies or Incorporations. Law restores Property, when unjustly possessed, to the right Owner. Can we then suppose that any Statute, much less the solemn Treaty of Union, took away this great Privilege of the incorporated Craftsmen of *Edinburgh*. This indeed would be absurd to suppose; for it would have been leaving the Metropolis of *Scotland* a Prey to domestic Dissention, and kindling anew that Flame which so wise a Law had so happily extinguished.

From these Considerations, and many others which are too tedious here to repeat, but will occur to the thinking Part of the worthy Citizens, it is plain that the Right of having a Representative in Parliament, is yet in the incorporated Craftsmen. The only Question then is, If it is to be *per vices* with the Merchants? Or if the Treaty of Union, limiting this City to one Member to serve in Parliament, has rendered Things so vague, that, without Distinction, a Merchant or a Craftsman may be chosen as the Majority of the Council shall judge proper?

As to this, it is scarce agreeable to common Sense, to suppose that Things are in such a Situation; for the plain Language of
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of it is, You, Craftsmen, are the Minority, and shall never have one of you to represent this City. This would be a strange Way of arguing in any other Case; for I shall suppose, that formerly there had been two Provosts in this City, and which, about the Time that the Set of the Town was framed, was strenuously insisted upon, at least, that the Conveener of the Trade should have a Provost's Power, the one of which to be elected from the Merchants, the other from the Craftsmen, and that an Act should afterwards limit the City to the Choice of one. Would it ever have entred into a wise Man's Head, because of this Limitation, for ever after to exclude a Provost from the Craftsmen, to serve *per vices*? or say, That it was enough that a Craftsman was capable to be elected into that high Office, while it was well known that the Majority of the Council, being Merchants, would still retain so great a Trust amongst themselves? How would the wise People of *Rome* have resented such Usage, if it had so happened that they had agreed to have only one Consul. But, in short, how can it be agreeable to common Sense; therefore, as the Limitation by the Articles of Union, equally affects both the Merchants and the Craftsmen;

the Craftsmen have the same Title with the Merchants to be represented in Parliament, which can be no otherwise done alternately ; and, *per vices*, I could illustrate this by a Variety of Examples, some which might be taken from Shires in *Ireland*, who send up Members to Parliament, *per vices*. But I think it is already sufficiently plain.

I hope it will appear, from these Considerations, that the Gentleman-Merchant cannot, at this Time, be elected; for it is the Craftsmen Right to have one of their Body, now, to represent the City, a Right, which, I'm confident they will insist upon, nor give up till a *British* Parliament decide it; if they should, it would be acting unworthy of themselves, and unfaithful to their Trust; it would be to betray that Liberty and those Privileges which so many Ties oblige them to convey to Posterity.

But further, if these concerned in the Management of the City, will but only reflect on the dismal Consequences this Election may produce, if the Friends of that Gentleman continue to support him; I am perswaded, they have a greater Regard for the Peace and Quiet of that City which they govern, that they will never consent to his Election. If the Trades, as no doubt they

they will, shall insist upon their Rights, then all that Dissention and those Animosities are kindled a new, which in Time before have done such Mischief. 'Tis Union alone, that makes Societies flourish, and when that is once broken, Ruin and Confusion is the Consequence. What a fine Game will this be, to those who look upon you with an evil Eye? and how will your Conduct be traduced, tho' founded on the wisest Motives? God forbid, that the Consequences ensue which may be justly dreaded: The united Voice of the Incorporations is by far the greatest in the City, they are able to defend themselves, their just Rights are in danger of being lost for ever, and it is not to be thought they will tamely give them up, without the Decision of the highest Courts. Would it not therefore be much more expedient to drop a Man who may do the City eminent Service in the several Offices of the Magistracy, and effectually recommend himself to the good Graces of all by his future Conduct; and, at this Time, agree to the Election of a Man in every Respect unexceptionable? This will prevent all the dismal Consequences, which, on good Grounds, are to be apprehended: It will quiet the Minds of every one: It will cement that

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Harmony and Peace which is the Beauty
 Society; and which, alone, can make
 City flourish: It will make your Names
 as the happy Instruments of resto-
 ring this Borough to its ancient Splendour;
 and, by this Means, it is no distant Sup-
 position, to think that you will gain more,
 at least, Forty Years to come, than
 you can propose by carrying an Election
 in the Favours of a Merchant-Councillor.

Having thus shortly stated Matters of
 Fact, I shall now go on to consider an Ob-
 jection to the Election of a Craftsman,
 which is made such a mighty Handle of by
 some, and which weighs with many that
 sincerely intend the Good of the City, and
 that is, that the Gentleman-Merchant is no-
 minated by a certain noble Peer, to whom
 you had pawned your Faith and your Ho-
 nour, that you would be for the Man
 whom he should please to name.

Now, take this in any Shape you will,
 you will allow me to say it is absurd and
 ridiculous; for, *first*, That noble Patriot's
 Character is so well established, so amiable
 and fair in the Esteem of all, and founded
 upon such a bright Circle of Virtues, that
 it is not possible so strenuous a Champion
 for Liberty should invade your's. Could
 a Man, who had sacrificed so many valu-
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able Places, which he possessed with so much Dignity and Honour to maintain your Freedom, would he now seek you time to resign it? It is ungenerous to insinuate so unkind a Proposal, as much as it would be below his great Spirit, to entertain the distant Thought of it. Do these Gentlemen reflect, what Disgrace they throw upon that illustrious Man, and how they would make the World believe that he was involved in a Kind of treasonable Practices; For do they not know how strictly the Commons of *Great Britain* have provided against any Peer's influencing Elections? What is it that the Nation complains so loudly of, but undue Influence? But this would be undue Influence, with a Witness, and would scarce have a Parallel in History.

I am ashamed to talk on this Subject, and surely they, who so rashly lay such a Crime to that great Man's Charge, may be afraid of a Prosecution; for it is *scandalum Magnatum* in the highest Sense; and I hope, for their own Honours, as well as Safety, they will give over imposing upon the Publick, by spreading about such vile scandalous Aspersions. But, further, how comes it to be asserted, that the Incorporations of this City had pawned their Faith
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and Honour to be for the Man to represent them in Parliament, whom a certain noble Pee should name. Surely these Gentlemen's Memories are as short as they would have the Understandings of their Fellow-Citizens to be shallow. No such Promise was ever past; and, if it had, it would have been rejected with Disdain. It would have argued an insufferable Weakness to make such a Proposal, and a yet more ridiculous one to accept it. All that the several Incorporations agreed to, was to assure his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*, that, in as far as their Influence could reach, they would only promote the Interest of such a Man to represent them in Parliament, as they had Reason to think was the least biassed by private Views; which Resolution his Grace highly applauded: But was this naming a Man? Was this a Promise to vote as they were directed? No, therefore such Tongues, that give themselves the Liberty thus to misrepresent the fairest and the best intended Actions, should be for ever dumb, lest they expose themselves; for a Cause supported in such a Manner shews the Want of Argument and Truth on its Side.

Let us again view this in another Light; and, for Argument's Sake; suppose that

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his Grace had indeed nominated that Gentleman-Merchant to represent this City in Parliament. Let us think upon the Consequences of this with Regard to this City. Is it sunk so very low? Are your Magistrates and Council to receive their Directions in a Matter of this Importance from any Peer whatsoever? Are those who are intrusted with the Rights, Privileges, and Interest of your City, Men of so very low Capacity, so very low in their Understanding, as, in their own Judgment, to be incapable to make a proper Choice of a fit Person to represent them in Parliament? Is it possible they could be so mean-spirited to sacrifice the Honour and Independency of the metropolitan City of *Scotland*? Could the smallest, the most contemptible Borough in *Great Britain* submit to a worse Treatment? Could the Proprietor of *Old Sarum*, a Borough consisting of a few Houses, all the Property of one Man, where all the Voters are absolute Dependents and Tenants at Will, could this absolute Lord of the Soil treat his Voters worse? Is the City of *Edinburgh*, which used to have so great Influence over the other Boroughs, that City which has always exerted itself, not only to preserve its own Independency, but also the Independency of all the Boroughs?

Boroughs? Is this metropolitan Head of all the rest reduced to so very low an Ebb as to submit to a Treatment which hardly any other Borough in *Scotland* would bear with Patience? Could the Recommendation of any great Man persuade you to give up your Right of private Judgment, and the free Exercise of your Reason? To make a Sacrifice of the Rights and Privileges of your Fellow-Citizens, and of the Independency of the City itself? Are you reduced to so low a State of Vassallage and Dependency? sunk in your Reputation lower than the meanest trading Borough in the Kingdom? Is this the Example which the Metropolis of our Country is to set to the rest of the Boroughs, to make a Surrender of their Freedom and Independency, to give up the free Use of their Reason in the Choice of those who are to represent them, that great and valuable Privilege which distinguishes Freemen from Slaves? To give up this essential Mark and sure Badge of Liberty! Would not all these be just Conclusions, if the Magistrates and Incorporations of the good Town had acted the Part which is now insinuated they did? Or if his Grace the Duke of *Argyle* had nominated a Man? So that, turn this

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Objection into any Shape you please, it is ridiculous; it is false and absurd.

Having thus laid down several Characteristics, by which all Freemen ought to be directed in their Choice of Representatives to serve in Parliament; having fairly, and I think honestly, stated the Case now in Debate; having proved that the incorporated Craftsmen of this City have an undeniable Right to have one of their Number elected *per vices* with the Merchants; and having removed the only Objection against one of their Number being now chosen, I shall conclude by addressing myself to the whole Body of the Inhabitants in general, and of the incorporated Craftsmen in particular.

And now, Gentlemen, let me ask you what you can propose by carrying Matters, at this Time, with a high Hand, and in Opposition to the Incorporations? Every wise Man ought to have a good End in View; but more especially ought you, as publick Trustees, to consult the publick Good, by voting for such a Man only, as from long Experience, you are perswaded will act from the best and most disinterested Motives. Sure I am, that a thorough Knowledge of a Man's Principles, and steady Adherence to them, is the greatest Mo-

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tive to influence Patriots to vote ; - a steady
 Conduct, an uniform Behaviour, has
 Beauties to recommend itself to every con-
 sidering Man. And shall you overlook this
 best Qualification in a Candidate ? What
 is it can weigh with you now to refuse your
 Assent to the Election of a Man whom you
 know deserves so well of his Fellow-Citi-
 zens, whose Ability you know, and whose
 Capacity you have tried. Consider this Af-
 fair in any Light you please, and you'll find
 that cool deliberate Reason will perswade
 you to support that Gentleman, whose Inte-
 grity is undoubted, whose Honesty is appro-
 ved, who has so good a Title to your Fa-
 vour, as he has to the Esteem of his Fellow-
 Citizens in general. Let me ask you, Do you
 think you will be better served ? Lay your
 Hands upon your Hearts, and tell me if you
 propose it. Do you think you can elect one
 less liable to be corrupted ? Do you think
 you can vote for a Man of a more steady
 Conduct, or for one more sincerely attached
 to our present happy Establishment in
 Church and State ? Can you think that Wis-
 dom, earned at the Expence of a good old
 Age, will veer about ? Can you imagine,
 that a Life, which has been one uniform
 Scene, and still employed for the Good
 of this City, will now be so far decayed,
 as

as to be unconcerned for its Interest? Or do you think, that the Fire of Youth is better calculated, than the Sedateness of Age, for maintaining the Dignity of your Representative.

Allow me to say, Gentlemen, this is a serious Affair, and not to be trifled with; your Trust, is of a publick Nature, occasionally vested in you, and not to answer any private End or Purpose whatsoever, but for the general and common Good of the City. And if it is so, then no Solicitation, no Influence of any Kind can have any Weight; the Merits of the Persons in Competition must alone determine the Matter; Merits which are to be coolly, fairly, and strictly weighed, and tried by the Experience of former Services, the only Way whereby any just Judgment or Opinion can be formed to any tolerable Degree of Certainty; for surely it can never be imagined, that any Person, acting in a publick Capacity, can be so very weak or wicked, so void of all Sense of Duty and social Virtue, as to look upon this as a private Property, as a light Thing of no Moment, to be arbitrarily and wantonly complimented away. How many Arguments might I here use, to persuade you to give *Honour* to whom *Honour is due*. Is there no one

that

that has served you well, and served you long, capable of representing you? What are become of all the Seniors in Office? Is *Edinburgh* reduced so low? Shall we say of it as *Salust* did of *Rome*, when its final Destruction was approaching, that it was like a barren Mother, and could not produce one Son capable to defend her? You ought further to consider, and weigh well the Consequences of a Vote at this Time, as it may create a Flame, which, perhaps, may scarce be quenched in our Days. It is your Duty, by all Means, to avoid the pernicious Consequences which may attend an Opposition of Interests in the Place. And, should this poor City be involved in unhappy Disputes, relating to Matters of Right claimed by the greatest Part of the Citizens, and withheld by others of them, what Confusion would ensue, and how ruining must the Consequences be? Gentlemen, let me therefore obtest you to weigh this Matter with that Coolness and Deliberation which its Importance requires, and think, if all the good Ends of an Election can be served by promoting a Craftsmen, and all the bad Consequences of voting for another avoided, it be not your Duty, as publick Trustees, as Lovers of your Country and of this City, to act in such

such a Shape as will cement all Differences, and heal your Divisions.

But now, let me address the incorporated Craftsmen of this City. You, Gentlemen, are particularly concerned; this is indeed a Crisis, a Time when you have a great Deal in the utmost Hazard, and unless you vigorously exert yourselves now, you may certainly will lose it for ever; lose the most valuable of your Privileges, and that Weight which you ought to have in the Management of publick Affairs. It is undeniable that you had a Title to have one of your Number a Representative for this City in Parliament. It is as undeniable, that this was particularly given you, because, the Majority of the Council being Merchants, you could scarce expect a Majority of Votes for a Candidate whom you should name from among yourselves. Let me then ask, if you have forfeited this Right, By what Law is it taken from you? If you have not incurred any Forfeiture as to your Title, it still remains, and is what now you ought strenuously to insist upon, for a Prescription may be pleaded if this *Vice* pass; therefore you ought now to quit yourselves like Men, to appear in Support of your just Privileges, and maintain them by all justifiable Means.

Can you deserve the Name of Men, if you are unconcerned for your Liberty? Can you deserve the Name of free Citizens, if you fail to maintain what Rights the Law vests in you? Can you be true to Posterity, if they should fail, and your unhappy Days be pointed out, as the dismal *Æra*, when the incorporated Craftsmen of *Edinburgh* ceased to make a Figure in the World, by tamely allowing their greatest Privilege to die away, without Opposition, or striving to remedy the Evil; I am perswaded you have all more Spirit; you are all warmer for the Interests of your Societies; you have all juster Notions of Things, than allow yourselves to be thus used; therefore *be strong, quit yourselves like Men*. Lay Instructions upon your *Deacons*, to vote only for the Man whom you have named from among yourselves, and protest against a Merchant's being at this Time on the Leet.

But, let me tell you, Gentlemen, that your *Deacons* are obliged to vote according to your Directions, or they shew themselves of a Stamp which I shall not chuse to name; you have heard them instruct Members of Parliament, and you have avowedly maintained, that a Mem-

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ber;

body so instructed, ought to act according
 to the Sense and Mind of the Constituents.
 This was the general Opinion of you all.
 And now shall a Deacon go about and pro-
 pagate another Doctrine? Such Absurdity
 reflects so much upon himself, that he may
 blush to think of such a contradictory Con-
 duct. And here I shall transcribe a Para-
 graph from a late Writer, which will ex-
 cellently apply to the Purpose in Hand.
 "Nothing is more false in Position, or more
 & destructive in Practice, says he, than
 "that the Representatives (as your Dea-
 "cons are of the Crafts) of any Body,
 "are no longer accountable to their Prin-
 "cipals after they are chosen. It is false
 "in Position, because no Representative
 "elects himself, but is chosen by the Peo-
 "ple to act for the People of Course, be-
 "ing delegated by others; it is for their
 "Service, and not to gratify his own
 "Whim, Pride or Avarice; and if that
 "Service does not manifestly appear, he
 "reverses the very End of his Election; con-
 "sequently there can be no Tie upon the
 "People to ratify a Mischief which they
 "chose that very Man to prevent. On the
 "contrary, they have a Right to brand
 "the Author or Authors of it, with the
 "Infamy

Infamy they so justly deserve. This is a
 Reserve of Power which they ought not,
 could not give away. It is destructive
 in Practice, because, if a corrupt Majority
 have a Right to enact one Oppression,
 they have a Right to enact a Thousand,
 which is as much as to say, that tho' the
 King has no Authority to do Wrong, a
 Parliament has, and that we ought to
 submit to a Multitude of Tyrants, tho',
 by our Birth-Right, we are intitled to
 resist and oppose *One*."

Thus, Gentlemen, you will see, that
 these who presume now to give away
 your Birth-Right, contrary to your Advice,
 are liable to your Censure; and it is your
 Fault if it be not such as may deter others
 from venturing, at another Time, on such a
 Surrender. *Now or Never* is your Time;
 now is the great Crisis; struggle now for
 Liberty, for your Birth-Right, for the Ad-
 vantage of your Posterity, for your future
 Ease, for all that deserves your Regard,
 or tamely submit to any Imposition what-
 ever.

They I shall conclude all by a sincere Wish,
 that the Happiness and Peace of this City
 may last for ever; that its Governors may
 always be directed by the most rational
 and

and disinterested Views; and that
 Decision, particularly that relating to
 Representative in Parliament, may be
 to the Honour, Interest and Happiness
 the good Town of *Edinburgh*.

F I N I S

Thus, Gentles, will see, that
 who profess to give away
 Right, contrary to your Advice,
 to your Cause; and it is your
 it is not such as may deter others
 venturing, at another Time, on such a
 venture. Now or Never is your Time;
 is the great Crisis; and it is now for
 the Abolition of the Slave Trade.
 of your Cause, and for the
 for all that believes your Reason,
 timely submit to any imposition what-

shall conclude all by a sincere Wish,
 the Happiness and Peace of this City
 last for ever; that its Governors may
 be directed by the most rational

